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AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.





ADDRESS

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BEFORE THE LITERARY SOCIETIES

OF THE

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY,

BY

HON. S. B. ELKINS, OF NEW YORK.

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AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.

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AFTER six thousand years of recorded effort, "civilization, in its journey with the sun," has encircled the globe. Its metes and bounds are fixed. The future holds for it no more territorial conquests. It cannot find relief, as in times past, from the dangers that grow with its growth and constantly threaten its existence, by the discovery of new worlds. In America, civilization, to insure its own progress and preservation, must meet these dangers and confront the oncoming problems face to face without chance of retreat.

Fifty centuries ago, the restless Aryan parted company with his Mongolian neighbor under the shadow of the great Himalayas. Leading the course of empire, this heroic blood, conquering all before it, has gradually moved westward, until it has reached the last barrier, the Pacific Ocean.

Over this wide stretch of waters the Occident salutes the Orient, the West clasps hands with the East, the New speaks to the Old.

Western civilization, in marshalling its assets and recounting its triumphs, points with pride and enthusiasm to its latest and most promising offspring, the United States, in its early infancy the richest

country on the globe, leading the world in industrial progress, and all the things that make for the material comfort of man ; a nation of free people, happy and prosperous.

The beautiful Orient, "land of the sun and romance," source of philosophies and religions, the cradle of the race, having resisted alike the assaults of change and the ravages of time, rejoices in a civilization that holds over eight hundred million of peaceable, gentle and contented people, constituting more than half the world's population.

Echoing through cycles of experience in the concerns of government and the tasks of humanity, may be heard voices from the far-off conservative East, speaking through her literature, philosophy and religion ; telling us that brute force is not power, materialism is not enduring, mere knowledge is not wisdom ; lessons that our newer and more aggressive civilization may well heed.

Voltaire said, "The discovery of America is the greatest event which has ever taken place in this world of ours." It helped to save Western civilization from a long struggle and perhaps from following in the wake of the civilizations of Egypt, Greece and Rome. The progress of the best civilization has always been westward. It moved from Assyria, Phœnicia, and from the banks of the Nile to Greece and Rome, thence to Northern and Western Europe, centering in Paris and London. It has crossed the Atlantic, and unless there are changes not now ap-

parent, it is destined to reach its largest development and highest perfection upon the American continent.

American civilization is the heir of all the ages. It draws its forces from the whole mighty past. Appropriating and absorbing the best elements of Europe, possessing unrivaled physical and industrial advantages, it should be distinctive in character, aggressive and vigorous, enabled to understand and solve the problems which thus far have baffled society and overcome the dangers that have wrecked all former civilizations.

Already Western civilization is divided into European and American civilization, between which there is a silent contest going on for supremacy in the affairs of the world.

The progress of civilization in Europe is hindered by the burdens of military armaments, public debts, interest and taxation, together with the inability of the people in many of the States to produce from the soil what they consume, and the want of popular government. To-day, Europe, professing to be Christian, is a vast military camp. The tramp of soldiers is heard on every hand. Standing armies on a scale the world has never seen, occupy most of the States; armed with the most approved machinery for human slaughter, facing each other, and ready at a moment's notice to grapple in a deadly struggle; all for no higher purpose than to satisfy dynastic ambitions.

France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Belgium and

Great Britain, furnish to their standing armies 2,200,000 able-bodied men, who, instead of contributing to the production of wealth, cost each on an average, annually, about \$225 to support, or in the aggregate about five hundred million dollars. 1,224,000 men, or about one-eighteenth of the whole adult workers of France, Germany and England, are in their armies and taken from industrial pursuits.

In 1880, the public debts of the leading countries of Europe amounted to about twenty thousand million dollars; the annual interest charge on which, at 3 per cent., amounts to six hundred million dollars; much of which, however, bears interest at 4 per cent. Eight thousand million of these debts, or about 40 per cent. thereof, was created in the fifteen years between 1865 and 1880. England and France, with an aggregate population only 25 per cent. greater than that of the United States, pay about four hundred million interest per annum on their public debts, and about three hundred and forty million for the support of their armies and navies, besides contributing 730,000 men to their standing armies. The States of Europe to-day are hopelessly mortgaged to the descendants of their present creditors. England does not produce enough from the soil to feed half her population.

With this great drain on these countries and with these embarrassments, is there reasonable hope of European civilization making substantial progress? If European civilization is to prosper, large national

debts must disappear ; able-bodied men must be taken from the armies and restored to industrial pursuits and the production of wealth ; classes and distinctions in society must pass away ; labor must get a larger share of what it produces ; and, sooner or later, the people must have popular government. If, in the march of progress, European civilization shall reach this point, it will then, in many essential things, only be abreast of American civilization to-day.

Will all this be done through peaceful means or through blood ? Will another French Revolution, as Carlyle predicted, be the dreadful instrumentality employed to accomplish this purpose ?

Meantime, American civilization cannot stand still. It, too, must go forward on higher lines and nobler planes in the direction of humanity, morality and the brotherhood of man. Unsettled questions and pressing problems are the police of the world, always on duty, giving nations no repose and bidding humanity move ever on.

The physical position of the United States on the globe is commanding and important. Her territory measures the width of a continent which is washed by two oceans. It lies on the great highway in the march of civilization from the East to the West ; in the charmed climatic belt ; between those parallels of latitude which have produced the greatest men of all times ; within which the greatest transactions in human history have taken place, the greatest triumphs in art, literature and war occurred, and the

greatest peoples come and gone. It contains a population of more than 62,000,000 of free people, increasing at the rate of nearly 2,000,000 per annum, the sun going down on 5,000 more people each day. It has 150,000 miles of railroad, 230,000 miles of telegraph lines, 25,000 miles of ocean and lake coast, 20,000 miles of navigable rivers, over and along which is carried and transacted trade and commerce which amounts to fifty thousand million dollars per annum. In aid of industrial progress the people of the United States enjoy 250,000 inventions protected by patents. The value of agricultural and manufactured products amounts annually to more than thirteen thousand million dollars. The annual gross receipts of one of their railway systems amount to more than the income of the oldest empire of the world, with four hundred million population. Government bonds sell at a premium of 25 per cent. The national treasury is overflowing, and Congress and the Executive are embarrassed by the increasing volume of the revenues. The number of its standing army is only about 28,000 men, or one in 2,200 of population. Interest on the public debt amounts to about ninety-five million per annum; making the total expenses on account of the public debt, the army and navy only about one hundred and fifty million per annum. It is estimated that in another century the wealth of the United States will exceed that of Europe, and that their population will in two centuries reach more

than five hundred million. While wages in Europe are only about one-third of those in the United States, the cost of living is only a trifle less ; some authorities claiming for the same kind of living the cost is about equal. It is estimated that the people of the United States consume three times as much per capita as the people of Europe. In other words, 60 million Americans consume as much as 180 million Europeans.

The contrast in all these things between the United States and Europe is striking, and strikingly in favor of the United States.

The social and political condition of the people is already in advance of that of any other people of the world.

Mr. Matthew Arnold, in his article criticising civilization in the United States, says : " The political and social problem does seem to be solved there with remarkable success. * * * It is undeniable that their institutions do work well and happily. * * * It, in general, as to its own political and social concerns, sees clear and thinks straight. * * * For that immense class of people, the great bulk of the community, the class of people whose income is less than three or four hundred pounds a year, things in America are favorable. It is easier for them there than in the Old World to rise and make their fortune. Things are favorable to them in America. Society seems organized for their special benefit."

These are the words of a keen observer, a great

thinker, and a severe critic. What higher tribute could be paid to American civilization than to say that society seems organized for the benefit of the bulk of the community. It is the glory of our political system that all power is in the people, that the Government exists for the whole body of the governed, and that it will only fulfill its highest functions when it best promotes the welfare of all, and thus makes real a commonwealth.

It must not be forgotten, however, that other civilizations, in their day and time, with much of the promise of American civilization, have come and gone.

The salvation of European civilization has been due among other things to emigration and shifting of population. There is no such safety-valve for the United States; it must face the difficulties and dangers, that beset it, and, if possible, conquer them on American soil, amid a constant influx of population from other countries.

The seeds of life and death seem to be planted in every organism. Civilization is no exception to this general rule; it holds within itself the germs of its own destruction.

The ideal civilization, which man hopes to attain, is that in which war will disappear and peace reign supreme, in which poverty, pauperism, crime, pestilence and disease will decrease, and human life will be prolonged.

The nearer this ideal is approached, the faster population will multiply. Wise men tell us that

herein lurk the dangers which threaten an advancing civilization; that, as man multiplies, what is termed the struggle for existence increases and grows fiercer, causing a silent, though constant, cruel and relentless war between individuals in which the strong devours the weak, and the tendency of which is towards the destruction of society itself. Civilization, to insure its safety, must in some way limit and put under restraint the struggle for existence--must somehow modify and soften the forces of competition.

This seems the end to be sought. Mr. Huxley says: "It is the true riddle of the Sphinx; and "every nation that does not solve it will, sooner "or later, be devoured by the monster itself has "generated."

Of the many serious problems before our nation, two may be singled out for special emphasis:

American civilization has forced upon it the race problem, always difficult and disturbing to the repose of nations. After much delay Chinese immigration has been stopped, and pauper immigration checked. Such measures are healthful and in the interest of security, they should be encouraged, until only the moral and industrious of other countries should be permitted to become the "guests of the Republic."

The Negro race in the South numbers about seven million or more than twice our population when the Constitution was adopted. It has multiplied eight times in a century. If the same increase is maintained for another century, it will about equal in number the

present population of the United States. It is encouraging that the negro is by nature peaceable, kind and religious, respectful towards authority, obedient to law, and purely American. The North has ten million foreigners. Voters born in Europe hold the balance of power between the two great political parties. The Negro race and the foreigners constitute more than one-fourth of our population. These elements must be harmoniously absorbed and assimilated, into the general body of composite American civilization.

Though the race-question in the South led to the great civil war, it was not fully settled by it. The negro gained freedom, and was elevated from the degradation of being a mere chattel to the dignity of a citizen. This was a great change to be so suddenly wrought in the history of a race of 4,000,000 people.

The great republic could make the slave free and its citizen, but could not, at the same time, arm him with the necessary intelligence and experience that would enable him to exercise the rights of a free-man and a citizen in a contest with his former master. This was not the fault of the government, it was the misfortune of the negro.

The government did all it could to aid its newly-made citizen, in his helpless and almost hopeless condition. The negro, heir to thousands of years of ignorance, savagery, and barbarism, the only civilization he ever knew finding him a slave, and his first duty to obey, was not prepared to exercise his political

rights against his former master, who was accustomed to control and govern, and was entrenched behind power, wealth, and education. The contest was unequal. There could be but one result. Ignorance and poverty had to go down before intelligence and wealth, as it has always done the world over.

The general condition of affairs in the South, since the war, has been natural and logical.

The war left the two races in their changed conditions on the same soil, under the same skies, and in the same homes and places. Neither race could get relief by retiring. In these new and trying circumstances, for which neither was prepared, in open antagonism, they were forced to begin the work of solving the race problem. History furnishes no parallel to a situation so difficult for both sides.

The black man deserved the profoundest sympathy—the white man consideration. In the humiliation of defeat, loss of property, and everything he had fought for and held dear, the white man brooded over his losses. He determined that his humiliation should not be deepened by allowing his former slave to be his social and political equal, and aid in making laws for his government. He resisted by force in some cases; by threats and indirection in others; and often by State laws passed in his own interest. Federal laws were unavailing. Even where there was a Federal or State law that might favor the black man and was sustained by the courts, there was no public sentiment behind either that could enforce it. There is a whole

empire of questions in our domestic concerns that statute law cannot reach, and where natural laws are supreme and govern. In the fiercest civil war, in the long night of battle and blood which hung over the land, when the liberty of the negro was in the balance, his conduct was marked by no act of violence or revenge, and he remained the true, tried, and trusted friend of his master and his family, who were fighting to hold him in slavery. There is nothing in all history equal to this example of affection, forbearance, and charity, on the part of a whole race. This splendid fact should stand out as a bond between the two races, and it is hoped, in time, will be a gentle memory that will draw them closer together. The two races have known each other for two hundred years. The South needs the black man. The white man in the South could not get on well without him. They understand each other, and generally agree on all but social and political questions. Already there is a better feeling between the races. The negro is making substantial progress in education and in the accumulation of property.

The negro, not equal in intelligence and education to the white man, being constantly associated with him, looking to him for guidance in local concerns, seeing in him the model after which he is to shape his own advancement, generally obliged to rely upon him for employment and the means of gaining a subsistence—is it not natural, as time goes on, that he should be largely influenced by the white man, even in matters of political concern?

There should be the same law over both South and North. Violation of the rights of citizenship, suppression of votes, frauds in elections, are dangerous to liberty and free government, and should be punished everywhere. Any section that countenances and upholds these wrongs is its own worst enemy, and sooner or later retribution in some form will follow.

In theory and practice, in the interest of the healthful progress and purity of free government, of its safety and preservation, every citizen should be protected in all his rights, should be allowed to vote as he desires, and his vote should be counted as cast. This cannot be denied. But to attempt to change the situation in the South by Federal law has not succeeded; to try to effect it in the interest of the black man by outside agitation has proven useless. So long as political parties are divided in the South on the lines they are, and the people, both black and white, are made to believe everything depends on the whites being in one party and the blacks in another; so long as prejudice, passion, hate and revenge shall be encouraged by selfish leaders for their own aggrandizement, the situation between the races in the South will remain unchanged.

The true solution of this question will come when both races divide on economic and industrial issues and distribute themselves between the two great parties. The black man will then have the sympathy and support of his white neighbor and get all his rights under the law.

When hostile guns were trained upon the capitol of the republic, with his life threatened and in danger, Lincoln said to the Southern people :

“We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies.” Later on, Grant said : “Let us have peace.” At this great distance from the conflict, should not our wise men on both sides heed the voices of these immortals and echo their plea for peace. Prejudice, passion, hate and revenge cannot live forever—and no man should wish to keep them alive. Upon no such foundations can anything good or lasting in society or government be built.

It is in the order of events in the path of certain destiny that the people of all sections through the whole country shall be friends. Then let us wisely anticipate the work of time, and of oblivion and the reconciliations of our children by a few years and be friends now. When the race question in the South shall be settled, and shall be no longer the foot-ball of politics, the Union will in the best sense, be restored.

The people of the whole country will enjoy that peace and repose that friendly feeling and good will for each other which are so necessary to the highest progress and the most permanent safety of the Union, and which they have not known for more than a quarter of a century. The passions born of the war, and often kept alive for selfish purposes will then be buried in the “sea that giveth not up its dead.”

Sectional differences and antagonisms—always a menace and danger to the Republic—will disappear,

and the words "Solid South" and "United North" will be known no more forever.

If the South has a race problem forced upon it, the North is concerned with the class problem which will press as severely for consideration. After the experience of the past few years, the blindest optimist cannot fail to see that the industrial question is fairly raised.

In the last dozen years, lessons of wisdom have been learned, in the United States, both by capitalists and wage-earners. The present agitation of the industrial question is healthful. It argues, on the part of the people, a desire to go forward, an aspiration to rise higher. It is the yearning for independence and advancement on the part of the whole people which is yet to be the glory of American civilization. The prospect for our civilization would indeed be dark and forlorn if all energy, courage, and ambition to rise had gone out of the people. American civilization, notwithstanding its great promise, would then be on the eve of certain decline.

Progress in civilization is not made or marked by the rise of only a part of society. The certain sign of progress is when the general level rises, when the condition of the whole body of society is improved, and when the life of the people at large is enobled.

Of the various aspects of the Industrial Problem one is pre-eminently important.

Carlyle said: "A man willing to work and unable to find work, is perhaps the saddest sight that fortune's inequality exhibits under the sun."

There is always employment for the person that knows how to do useful things and do them well.

In 1880 there were 300,000 people in Massachusetts that had no knowledge of any trade, art or profession, by which they could earn a living. They did not know how to do things, and, therefore, even those who desired it, could not find employment.

Mencius, the Chinese philosopher, who lived three hundred and twenty-five years before Christ, said: "Let the people be employed in a way to secure their happiness; although wearied, they will not murmur."

The State should not undertake to find employment for its citizens, but it should afford them an opportunity to win at least manual training or an industrial education, so that they may be aided in finding employment.

As far back as 1700, the State of Connecticut passed a law requiring parents and guardians to bring up children to some lawful calling or employment, and fixing a penalty for failure to do so. In the "Frame of Government" drawn up by William Penn for his colony, on the Delaware, it was provided that "all children of the age of twelve were to be taught some useful trade."

Generally, from the ranks of the unemployed are recruited the restless and vicious--the dangerous elements to society and government. The strength and weakness of a government by the people—a pure democracy—lie close together. Such a government is a delicate arrangement brought into existence by the

people for their convenience, and resting entirely upon their consent.

This is the first real experiment of a government by universal consent known to history. The people are the source of all power. At any time a majority of the the people, not being satisfied, can recall the power they have conferred, withhold their consent, and then the government must die. The true office and function of popular government is to secure the welfare and contentment of the people--something more than the mere administration of law and the protection of the country from invasion.

The people must be satisfied and contented, in order that society may be peaceful and government may be stable. Permanent discontent or degradation of the people will work the downfall of the Republic. Generally, a majority of the people will be satisfied and contented when they can find employment which brings as a reward the means of subsistence, food, clothing, shelter, and something for education. It is plain that whatever proper methods will enable the people to find employment should be adopted. The chief means to this end--the one nearest at hand--is the true education of the people. The people of the United States enjoy a great public system of education. It is yielding good results. It should, however, be broadened, so as to embrace manual training and industrial education, such as the States of Europe, particularly England, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, are encouraging, to a degree never before known.

Schools for teaching nearly all the trades, among them weaving, designing, dyeing, and dairy farming are being established and endowed by the government.

In Berlin a central technical institution, costing about two million dollars, was recently built.

Basle, in Switzerland, has established, at great cost, schools for dyeing and designing, to aid the silk industry. The result is that silk is exported to England to such an extent that the silk industry, in three important manufacturing centres of England, is decreased to about one quarter.

The town of Crefeld, Germany, in aid of education suited to its industries, spent recently about one million dollars on its lower schools, and on a special weaving school about two hundred thousand dollars. The result is, it has doubled its population and quadrupled its trade.

In one of the great color works at Basle, the management is under the direction of a highly-educated chemist. Under him there are three assistant chemists, each at the head of a department, and each having several other assistants. In these works there are ten well-equipped laboratories, in which are carried on daily investigations. In the same kind of works at Höchst, near Frankfort, there are employed fifty-one scientific chemists. New discoveries are being constantly made in all these laboratories. These are but a few of the many examples of the movement towards industrial and technical education in Europe.

Mr. Swire Smith estimates that England loses trade worth, annually, from forty to fifty million pounds, for want of technical education; because her people generally have not been taught how to design, to model, and to draw. One firm alone in Paris expends \$50,000 per annum on designing. England pays seventy-five million dollars per annum for foreign butter and cheese, when it is claimed by one of her writers that she ought to be the paradise of farmers. In 1882 Germany sent England 400,000 tons of beet sugar, valued at fifty million dollars. The whole process of manufacturing beet sugar, from planting to the manufactured product itself, is under the supervision of scientists who have made the question in all its bearings a technical study. All this great effort in the direction of technical education and large scientific research in the interest of industry, and which has already produced such good results, has had for its object the stimulation of trade and commerce.

In the United States, encouragement should be given to establish industrial schools, foster technical education, and enlist the best scientific ability in behalf of industry for something better than the mere development of trade--that the people may find employment at remunerative wages and be contented. The age is industrial, commercial, and productive, and men and women should be prepared to live in it by being educated in a way that would fit them for such pursuits. M. Jules Ferry, late French Minister of Public Instruction, recently said: "We desire to enoble manual

labor. * * * Social peace will find a place upon the seats of the elementary schools."

Mental training alone is one sided. The brain, heart, and hand should be educated together to make a round, finished, and symmetrical character, a useful citizen of the great republic, and the future true American.

The union of the education of the head, heart and hand will not only aid in settling vexed questions and bringing social repose ; it will develop better taste, culture, refinement, creating a larger demand for the things that make man comfortable and minister to his tastes and pleasures. It will enlarge the necessities of life, and stimulate consumption, which, in its turn, will create a demand for the use of more products ; a demand for further employment on the part of the people. Thus education in its broadest and best sense not only elevates man, but aids in securing employment for the people.

Sydney Smith said : " Humanity is a modern invention." It is modern, because, as civilization advances, human life is held in higher regard and cherished as more sacred, man is elevated and material things dwarfed.

As education increases and civilization advances, the luxuries of the present become the necessities of the succeeding age. The wage-earners of to-day enjoy conveniences and comforts in their daily life, such as princes and kings, with all their wealth, could not have purchased a century ago.

The kindergarten, though imperfectly adopted in this country, is a new revelation. Such teachers and educators as Arnold, Pestalozzi and Froebel do not appear often, and their influence on mankind and civilization is greater, better, and more far-reaching than that of generals and statesmen.

As a model for true and full education for Americans, Congress should establish and endow a National University. On this point Washington said :

“ That a National University in this country is a
 “ thing to be desired, has always been my decided
 “ opinion, and the appropriation of grounds and funds
 “ for it in the Federal City has long been contem-
 “ plated.”

In it should be combined all the departments of the best universities of this country and Europe, and added to these there should be departments to teach everything bearing upon art and industry. This great institution should be made the source and well-spring of Americanism, a constant living and potent protest against the increasing Anglo-mania in the country, and the servile imitation of European manners and European thought.

Other sciences are needed in American civilization, than the science of getting wealth—sciences affecting the industrial and social progress of American manhood.

Political economy rests on nothing higher than selfishness in individuals and in nations. It takes no

account of humanity. In the getting of wealth, within certain restrictions, one may cause unhappiness, misery, and distress, and there is no remedy. It sanctions between men and nations unrestricted competition, which is only refined barbarism, the enemy to the highest progress. It suggests no hint that the struggle for existence should be limited.

Could there not also be the science of living correctly and attaining human happiness, which should teach thrift, care, economy, gentleness, forbearance, good manners, charity, and humanity, and, above all, the building of individual and national characters. Parents and teachers should be character-builders. Wealth and materialism pass away, character abides. All one can take hence is character.

Enormous sums of money are paid out by the States and the general government to repress crime and to take care of criminals and paupers. If half this money should be spent in promoting a true and complete education of the people, crime and vice would largely disappear, society and the government would be more secure.

In the United States there are 16 million church members, and 310,000 churches and Sunday-schools. If, in towns, cities and thickly populated portions of the country, each church should establish and maintain a kindergarten, or some other school for the free education and manual training of poor children, the churches would at once become the centres of a great educational movement throughout the land.

Christianity is the basis of American civilization and of our free government. The churches should have the largest share in preserving both. A Hindoo writer says: "The religion of Christ represents all that is noble in Western civilization, Western morality, science, or faith." If there is one place where people should meet as equals, where the dividing line between the rich and poor, the intelligent and ignorant, the powerful and humble should entirely disappear, it is in a Christian church. In the United States, the church can largely aid in the direction of preventing classes and class distinction, so dangerous to the Republic. The church can be the strong fort, the great citadel, where equality can be best preserved.

In American civilization, all hope depends upon lifting men higher, to broader and better planes of thought and action. Every endeavor should be put forth to train and elevate the individual. As the atoms are so will the whole be.

Beyond the Race and Industrial problems, there are many serious questions for solution which can only be mentioned here.

One of the hindrances to the progress of American civilization is intemperance, the spreading evils and demoralizing influences of which can hardly be exaggerated.

There is spent annually in the United States nine hundred million dollars on intoxicating drinks—more than half the national debt—and more than is

spent for the meat and bread consumed by the people of the whole country. There are 250,000 drinking-saloons, 8,000 of which are in New York City alone. These are the nurseries of pauperism, vice, shame, misery and crime—the darkest spots on the sun of American civilization.

In the interest of finding employment for home labor, each country, if it can, should produce what it consumes.

The machine-using countries of the world number about three hundred million people, the hand-labor countries about one thousand million.

The increasing use of machinery is rapidly changing this relation. In time, through its general introduction, every country will largely produce what it consumes.

This will shift power and population to those countries richest in natural resources. All countries are looking to home markets for the consumption of home products. Nearly two thousand years ago a Roman poet and farmer sang:

“No keel shall cut the waves for foreign ware,
For every soil shall every product bear.”

The tendency of overcrowded population is towards unrest and disorder, against peace and social repose.

In New York there are one million people living in tenement houses.

“Great cities are the graves of the physique of

our race ;” tombs that mark wasted nervous energy in the mad rush for wealth and social preferment. Children born and reared in large cities are under a permanent disadvantage in the battle of life. Agriculture furnishes the conservative force in American civilization, and largely the basis of stability in government.

In the great city of New York the leaders in the professions, trade and commerce, for the most part, were country-bred boys.

If American civilization is to insure its own progress and preservation, it must rest upon moral and spiritual forces, and be molded and shaped by them. They constitute the surest foundations upon which to build an enduring civilization.

Great cities, railroads, large trade and commerce accumulated wealth, huge machinery, vast industries, millionaires, all of which we have in generous abundance, though important in a way, are not inspiring ; they will all pass away, unless they rest upon something more enduring than their own materialism.

In material affairs the progress of science teaches us that “to-day’s knowledge may be to-morrow’s ignorance,” but moral truths, spiritual facts, are parts of eternity, fixed, unchangeable, and live on forever.

In the parable of old there is taught, for all the ages, a beautiful and sublime lesson :

“ And behold the Lord passed by and a great and
 “ strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces
 “ the rocks, before the Lord : but the Lord was not in

“ the wind. And after the wind an earthquake : but
 “ the Lord was not in the earthquake. And after the
 “ earthquake a fire : but the Lord was not in the fire.
 “ And after the fire a still, small voice.”

In the dawn of civilization, man relied upon physical forces and trusted in material advantages. He saw God in the powers of nature. We have advanced far enough, however, to know that moral and spiritual forces are the most powerful. Emerson says: “’Tis a sentence of ancient wisdom, that God hangs the greatest weights on the smallest wires.”

There are reasons to believe that Western Civilization is nearing some great social change, pointing in the direction of the elevation of the people through education, the practice of virtue, a broader humanity, and a recognition of the doctrine of the brotherhood of man.

“ The old order changeth giving place to new
 And God fulfills himself in many ways.”

This change must and will come. It should come. The eternal principles of justice and equity fight for it. Civilization will have no repose, governments no certain security until it does come. All who love their fellow-men will welcome it; all who want justice done between man and man will aid in bringing it about.

Everything points to America as the land where this great change is to take place. American civilization is the hope of the world. It stands, to-day, the best equipped to take this important step and lead the world in this critical change, and let us hope it will

prove a peaceful and bloodless revolution. It would seem on our shores the final battle predicted by the ancient prophets is to occur, the last long strife between the powers of Light and Darkness, which have been wrestling together throughout human history. When night falls upon that mystic battle-field heard will be the voices which through the lips of seers and sages have been so long vainly searching for the heart of man.

The people will then know that truth, love, virtue, and the things that make for peace abide; that wisdom, gentleness, charity, and humanity are the fruits of the best culture, that matter is but the shadow of the spirit; "that the good is the absolute;" the unseen is the real; the invisible, the substantial, that passeth not away.

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